

Message Text

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ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 ACDA-12 DOE-15 CIAE-00
DODE-00 PM-05 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NASA-01 SOE-02
SS-15 OES-07 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 SIG-03
MMO-01 /100 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/WE:MCLISSFELT:JC

APPROVED BY EUR:RVINE

EUR/RPM:LBRECKON

ACDA:JNEWHOUSE

IO.GHELMAN (INFO)

NSC:RPUTNAM

-----014924 212304Z /70

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS PRIORITY

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

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SALTDEL GENEVA

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, UN, FR

SUBJECT: INTERNATIONAL SATELLITE VERIFICATION AGENCY

REF: STATE 153092 (NOTAL)

1. ON JUNE 20 ACTING ASSISTANT SECRETARY (EUR) VINE
CALLED IN FRENCH AMBASSADOR DE LABOULAYE TO RESPOND TO
FRENCH DEMARCHE AND INQUIRY RE FURTHER MEETING WITH JOHN
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NEWHOUSE, ACDA, REPORTED IN REFTEL. ALSO PRESENT WERE
EUR/WE NOTETAKER (LISSFELT) AND EUR/RPM OFFICER (BRECKON).

2. VINE SAID WE HAVE LOOKED CAREFULLY AT THE FRENCH
PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERNATIONAL SATELLITE VERIFICATION
SYSTEM, AND HAVE CONCLUDED THAT IT WOULD POSE SERIOUS
RISKS FOR WESTERN SECURITY INTERESTS. WE DO NOT BELIEVE

THE PROPOSED AGENCY COULD OPERATE EFFECTIVELY. WE WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO PROVIDE HIGH-QUALITY RAW MATERIAL FROM OUR SATELLITES TO THE AGENCY. WE DOUBT THAT ANY OTHER COUNTRY ABLE TO PROVIDE RAW MATERIAL IS LIKELY TO DO SO.

INTERPRETATION IS MORE IMPORTANT IN VERIFICATION THAN THE RAW MATERIAL. A VERY HIGH LEVEL OF EXPERTISE IS REQUIRED, GIVEN THE AMBIGUITY INHERENT IN THE RAW MATERIAL.

INEVITABLE DISPARITIES ABOUT AND BETWEEN THE CONCLUSIONS OF AN INTERNATIONAL AGENCY, AND THOSE OF INDIVIDUAL NATIONS WHOSE SECURITY INTERESTS ARE AT ISSUE, COULD WEAKEN CONFIDENCE IN CAPABILITIES FOR VERIFYING MAJOR ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS. DE LABOULAYE INTERJECTED QUESTION ABOUT DISPARITIES IN CONCLUSIONS BASED PRESUMABLY ON SAME RAW DATA. VINE REEMPHASIZED THIS POINT, RECALLING HOW NEWHOUSE IN HIS PRESENTATION TO FRENCH HAD INDICATED THAT USING MATERIALS JUST FROM SATELLITES WAS NOT SUFFICIENT. OTHER MEANS MUST BE USED FOR CROSS CHECKING INFORMATION.

3. VINE CONTINUED, SAYING WE DO NOT BELIEVE OUR SECURITY INTERESTS, OR THOSE OF OUR ALLIES, WOULD BE ADEQUATELY PROTECTED UNDER SYSTEM AS PROPOSED BY FRENCH. WE BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE MADE CLEAR OUR FIRM OPPOSITION TO AN INTERNATIONAL VERIFICATION AGENCY. NEVERTHELESS, WE ARE WILLING TO LISTEN TO THE "NEW QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS" ON THIS TOPIC WHICH THE GOF WISHES TO

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PRESENT BILATERALLY. IT IS NOT POSSIBLE FOR US TO RECEIVE THE FRENCH DELEGATION ON THE DATE ORIGINALLY SUGGESTED BY GOF (JUNE 26-27) BECAUSE OF CONFLICT WITH VISITORS (RUTH FROM FRG) TYING UP SAME "ESSENTIAL OFFICIALS FRENCH SHOULD SEE, BUT WE WOULD BE HAPPY TO RECEIVE THE DELEGATION DURING THE WEEK OF JULY 5-7. WE WOULD CAUTION, HOWEVER, THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO PROVIDE AN IMMEDIATE RESPONSE FROM THE AMERICAN SIDE TO THEIR QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS. DE LABOULAYE INDICATED HE UNDERSTOOD THIS. AT THIS POINT HE REITERATED STRONG FRENCH DESIRE NOT TO JEOPARDIZE IN ANY WAY U.S. SECURITY INTERESTS, READING FROM INSTRUCTIONS FOR EMPHASIS.

4. VINE CONCLUDED THAT, AS WE HAVE MADE CLEAR TO THE FRENCH, WE OPPOSE PROPOSALS AT THE SSOD OR IN ANY OTHER FORUM FOR AN INTERNATIONAL SATELLITE VERIFICATION AGENCY. GIVEN OUR SUBSTANTIVE PROBLEMS, WE COULD NOT SUPPORT OR PARTICIPATE IN THE EXPERTS' STUDY CURRENTLY PROPOSED BY FRANCE, AND WE DOUBT THAT OTHER STATES WITH RELEVANT EXPERTISE WILL EITHER. WE HAVE EXAMINED THIS VERY CAREFULLY AND HAVE CONCLUDED THAT THE U.S. COULD NOT CONTRIBUTE TO ANY STUDY OF THIS QUESTION

WITHOUT JEOPARDIZING U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS. NEVERTHELESS, WE STILL BELIEVE THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO TRY TO OBTAIN A CONSENSUS DOCUMENT AT SSOD, AND WE RECOGNIZE THE HIGH LEVEL OF FRENCH INTEREST IN THE INTERNATIONAL SATELLITE VERIFICATION PROPOSAL. IN AN EFFORT TO RESOLVE THIS APPARENT IMPASSE, WE WOULD, UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS, BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT AN OUTCOME IN WHICH THE FRENCH PROPOSAL IS DEFERRED FOR LATER CONSIDERATION. WE WOULD WELCOME THIS. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS APPROACH OFFERS A FEASIBLE ROAD AWAY FROM A PUBLIC CONFRONTATION BETWEEN TWO ALLIES, AND WE TRUST

THAT GOF WILL EXAMINE IT CAREFULLY IN THAT SPIRIT.

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5. DE LABOULAYE THANKED VINE FOR HIS CLEAR RESPONSE. HE SAID THAT FRENCH TECHNICAL EXPERTS BELIEVE IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO FIND A LESS AMBITIOUS PROGRAM WHICH WOULD NOT JEOPARDIZE US AND SOVIET SECURITY INTERESTS AND AT SAME TIME PERMIT PEOPLES OF THE THIRD WORLD A SENSE OF PARTICIPATION IN PROBLEM OF ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT. HE NOTED THAT THE "POLITICAL PEOPLE," LIKE HIMSELF, DID NOT SEEM TO KNOW, MUCH LESS UNDERSTAND, WHAT FRENCH TECHNICAL SPECIALISTS HAD IN MIND. VINE OBSERVED THAT ONE OF KEY PROBLEMS OF SUCH SYSTEMS IS DEGREE OF RELIABILITY. HIGH LEVEL OF RELIABILITY DEMANDS SOPHISTICATED SYSTEMS WHICH WOULD BE LACKING TO LOWER-LEVEL SYSTEM FRENCH TECHNICAL EXPERTS APPARENTLY HAVE IN MIND. PROBLEM OF INTERPRETATION WOULD REMAIN.

6. DE LABOULAYE NOTED WITH REGRET THAT FURTHER FRENCH-US BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS COULD NOT TAKE PLACE BEFORE CONCLUSION OF THE SSOD. THE FRENCH, HE SAID, HAD HOPED THAT THE FACT OF US-FRENCH BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS WOULD MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO WORK OUT A COMPROMISE AT THE UN, AND THUS AVOID AN OPEN CONFLICT BETWEEN US THERE. HE CONCLUDED BY EXPRESSING THE HOPE THAT THE TECHNICAL EXPERTS WOULD FIND A WAY OUT OF THE DILEMMA IN WHICH FRANCE FINDS ITSELF, RESULTING FROM THE SUPPORT ITS PROPOSAL HAS GATHERED FROM "AN ENORMOUS NUMBER OF COUNTRIES." REITERATING HIS CONCERN ABOUT AVOIDING A CONFRONTATION WITH THE US ON THIS ISSUE, DE LABOULAYE SAID WE MUST ALL QUICKLY TURN OUR POLITICAL IMAGINATIONS TO SOLVING THIS DILEMMA.

7. VINE CONCLUDED MEETING BY REITERATING SUGGESTION THAT SIMPLE DEFERRAL BY THE SSOD MIGHT BE BEST WAY OUT. IN MEANTIME, HE ASKED FRENCH TO BE IN DIRECT CONTACT

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WITH NEWHOUSE IN ACDA TO WORK OUT DETAILS OF BILATERALS
FRENCH REQUESTED.

VANCE

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